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ANTHROPOLOGY: CHILD OF IMPERIALISM

KATHLEEN GOUGH

FROM RESISTANCE TO REVOLUTION

JOHN & BARBARA EHRENREICH

Who Rules America?

Reviewed by EUGENE V. SCHNEIDER

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NOTES FROM THE EDITORS

This month's issue has no Review of the Month, for which we apologize. The Review of the Month in the March issue was completed on February 6th, and we left New York for Cuba via Mexico City on February 12th. There was too much to do in that brief interval to allow time for a serious editorial effort, and we thought it preferable to skip it altogether rather than throw together something that could be no more satisfactory to readers than to us.

For a related reason we are writing these notes for the April issue a month earlier than we normally would—in Mexico City waiting for the next flight out for Havana. Owing to the United States blockade and other forms of harassment, communications between Cuba and the United States are slow and unreliable, so that we are not counting on being able to send anything from Havana to New York until after we have left Cuba.

We are taking advantage of our brief stay in Mexico to visit old friends and to confer with publishers and authors here about possible translations of MR Press books into Spanish and Spanish books into English. Left-wing book publishing in Mexico—unlike left-wing journalism or indeed the revolutionary political movement in general—is in a period

(*continued on inside back cover*)

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FROM RESISTANCE TO REVOLUTION

BY JOHN AND BARBARA EHRENREICH

For at least five years young people in this country have struggled against "the system." That "system"—first no more than the links between red-neck cops and corrupt courts—has grown in our eyes to include the universities and firms we work for, what we see in the streets, how we have been trained to see ourselves. The cost of the struggle has already been great. We have seen friends beaten, jailed, exiled, and even killed. We who continue the struggle do so at the cost of our careers, maybe our lives. But, except for isolated moments of community, the *worth* of the struggle remains vague. We see more and more sharply what is wrong, how the wrongs are related. We have even come to call the system—"capitalism." But the confrontations which have trained our eyes for evil have, by their daily urgency, dimmed our vision of the future good, the "what-for." What follows is less an essay than a credo. We know what we are fighting against. We have this small glimpse of what we are fighting for.

We say it now, not just because to dream together is comfortable. The movement has been a ditch-to-ditch defense of ordinary, decent liberal values. It has been at times heroic, but it has always been a defense. To take the offensive, to fight to win, we must have some notion now of what it means to win. So thoroughly have we been taught to equate "vision" with "hallucination," that even we on the Left sometimes forget that without a vision there can be no strategy; and without strategy our tactics can only be isolated acts of despair.

Our Vision of Society

Under capitalism, the individual and social needs of men

The authors are graduate students in biology who have been active in the anti-war and community organizing movements in New York.

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are subordinated to the imperatives of capital. At work, the social relations of men cooperating to produce socially required goods or services are hidden by the isolated relations of each man to the things he is producing. Relations between men are transformed into relations between things. And what a man produces, how he produces it, his relation to the other workers, are all determined by the needs of the company, not by the needs of the men. Management may try to convince workers to identify with the company, but managerial decision-making is never offered to workers. They are, finally, commodities too, just like the raw materials and machinery for production.

At home we are similarly limited. It is not only that our choices of opportunities for recreation or of things to buy are limited to those choices that are profitable for someone else. It is not only that our environment is increasingly fouled with noise, with toxic gases and filth, vulgarized with ugly billboards and buildings. It is not only that the services we all know we need—good schools, health care, transportation—are inadequately provided because they profit no one. It is that we ourselves are crippled as people. How far into ourselves the personal implications of capitalism reach, no one—writing now and in this society—can say. Our relationships to those closest to us are defined by possessive contracts. All the conditions of our work and leisure turn us into isolated, suspicious individuals, dealing with each other and with ourselves as things, as means to certain ends.

It should be stressed that these phenomena are not simply the result of "manipulation." It is not a few evil men that separate us from each other. It is not the mass media and advertising that have twisted our personalities into weird parodies of the bourgeois ideal type. No doubt such manipulation does play a role in shaping us, but it is, in a way, incidental. What we have become suits our real condition. We have made the adaptation our society demands. The priority of capital is not just something that is hammered into us by textbooks and television. It is the condition of our lives, ingrained in every decision: from where to live and work to how to love or mourn.

We counter this with the vision of a society in which hu-

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man needs take priority over the imperatives of capital. In the light of the above discussion, these needs are almost self-evident. First, the minimum biological conditions for human life must be met: adequate food and shelter, clean air, free and easily accessible medical care, freedom from the threat of an arbitrary death in war. Just above the bare minimum for human survival are the needs for recreation, leisure, basic possessions and enough education to guarantee employment. But there are other sorts of needs, felt faintly or acutely, depending on the pressures of biological needs: we need friendship, affection, love. We need work—not jobs but work, work which is both personally satisfying and socially meaningful. Finally—and if this is not felt as a need, we dare to say that it is because the need itself has been distorted to fit a capitalist "ethic"—we must have freedom. Freedom for a man to work out what he has to do, and to do it.

It takes no deep studies of anthropology, philosophy, or psychology to state these needs. It takes no special moral sensitivity or political orientation to know that they are urgent. But the first conclusion that we draw after recognizing these needs is not so obvious: we insist that these needs be met for *all* people. We reject a society which provides health and comfort for any fraction of its members and not for all. We reject societies which provide physical security for all but reserve creative expression for a tiny elite. We reject sub-societies, e.g., utopian communities which try to satisfy internal, individual needs in isolation from the larger society. We reject a society in which anyone is denied the means for his full development as a human being. This is not to say that men are or should be intellectually, artistically, etc., equal. But in a society which on the one hand breeds a race of janitors and a class of typist-clerks, and on the other hand nurtures a special stock of the professional elite—in such a society we have no idea of the real possibilities for human variability or "inequality."

We believe that for the first time in history the demand for universal satisfaction of these basic needs can be met without a drastic, authoritarian reorganization of society. Technology, which so far has served largely to magnify the differ-

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ences between rich and poor, between rich and poor countries, can be "unleashed" in the service of all men. We can see the technological resources of the defense and space industries, for instance, being applied to ever cheaper production and faster distribution of necessary goods and services, to freeing men from tedious jobs, and to solving everyday problems of transportation and housing. In fact, not only have technological advances made the demands realizable, but they have aggravated the needs themselves: people who cannot afford a dentist can read about $100,000 heart transplant operations; people who travel only by Greyhound can read about supersonic airliners. Surely the technology which produced nuclear submarines and ICBM's can design a fully automatic subway train which costs a nickel a ride.

It is clear that a society which can meet these needs for the greatest number of people must be organized differently from our present society. The shift from capitalist priorities to human priorities entails much more than the creation of new "super-agencies," the "humanization" of corporations, or the allotment of more money for the same old poverty and health programs. We believe that the shift requires a basic reorganization of all our present institutions, the abandonment of many, and the creation of some new ones.

In the case of meeting biological needs, this is completely clear. Technology can develop without reference to human needs; public agencies can come to serve narrow bureaucratic interests—they will not spontaneously turn to solving human problems. But with a rational distribution of our technical resources, there is no doubt that the biological needs of all our people could be met.

In the case of the more specifically human needs—for friendship, purpose, and freedom—many will ask whether *any* social organization can possibly meet them. Aren't many anxieties and discontents just part of the "human condition," and inaccessible to social solutions? Now, it is never easy to distinguish between the "human condition" and the "condition of humans in our society." For instance, no one could pretend to know to what extent a painful sense of individual alienation

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is inherently human and to what extent it is inherent in the majority of human societies. In the absence of such knowledge, we simply state our belief: that the conditions for man's fullest freedom and creativity are social conditions. It goes without saying that satisfaction of material needs comes before satisfaction of creative energies. However, we not only depend on each other materially, but our very ideas of what is "meaningful" about a task, "beautiful" in art, or "good" about an action, are almost always derived from, or at least shared with, others in our society. Even our sense of what it is to be an individual is socially defined. Right now we see only dimly how society might begin to reorganize itself for the greatest individual fulfilment of the greatest number of people. We do not *know* whether *any* social organization could approach satisfaction of these psychological needs. We know only that none has really tried.

The society we strive for is one in which human goals—individual and social, material and psychological—take priority. Production, education, politics—all must be validated solely by the contribution they make to human welfare, not by whether they yield economic growth, balance the budget, or protect the rights of American investors abroad. In such a society men can become truly human, can exercise all their talents and skills, can relate to other people in a free and open manner. And it is this truly human existence, made possible by directing all our society's resources to human needs, that is our ultimate vision and our ultimate goal. The question we must ask is then—what institutions enable us to build such a society?

Prerequisite Institutions

One institutional change is inescapable. We have seen that the evils of our society derive from a system in which the economic well-being of a relatively small group of corporations takes priority over the needs of the great majority of the people. "Taking priority" means simply this: a small group of people, due to their institutional positions, have economic and social aims that conflict with the needs of the great majority. That small group has the power to insure that it is in their interests,

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not in those of the majority, that decisions are made. We work for a system where the needs of the great majority of Americans will come first and where the decisions of the great majority of Americans will prevail. It is clear that we must take the source of this power from those who now misuse it, and give it to the people. Now the source of that power is ownership of factories, of utilities, of banks. The uses of power are determined by the economic and political organization of society. Power used by private owners is power used in the interest of private owners. To them, profits and corporate expansion are the primary goals, not what is produced and why. The prerequisite for a human society is: control of the factories, the banks, the utilities, the networks of transportation and distribution, in the hands of the people.

We must be very clear about what we mean by "placing power in the hands of the people." Many forms of nominal public control and ownership are irrelevant or even antithetical to socialism as we conceive of it. For instance, suppose the American people theoretically owned everything and elected Lyndon Johnson (or any one man) to administer it. What could be worse? We reject styles of "socialism" in which power is nominally public but decisions are made by a bureaucracy, far removed from the people. Nor would we want popular control to mean that public needs would be ascertained by sociological and psychological studies rather than by direct popular participation in decision-making. Finally, by "public ownership" we do not mean a system in which personal possessions such as homes, cars, hi-fi sets, could be confiscated in the name of economic "justice." In fact, it is easier to state what we do *not* mean by public control than what we do mean. All we can say is that institutions must be developed through which the great majority of the people actively, self-consciously and in a fully informed way, control *all* political, civil, and economic institutions in the interests of all of the people.

The hard problem is to determine what institutions can insure true public control and what strategies will create these institutions. What can democracy mean in a nation of 200 million, in a city of 500,000? Conversely, what can power mean

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to a town of 5000 or a family of four? But there are even harder problems, problems which only *begin* with the end of private ownership and elite domination of the means of production and distribution. To be sure, capitalism has created these problems, but that does not mean the ending of capitalism will solve them. Public ownership of the means of production is only a *technical condition* for solving the problems of our society. But it is only with public ownership that it is possible to begin to build a human society. Only to begin.

The Initial Tasks

We start with some fairly straightforward tasks that, almost everyone will agree, are essential. We want clean cities with adequate housing, safe streets, and efficient public transportation. For those who prefer it, we want spacious suburbs, from which the jobs and culture of the city are easily accessible. We want the places we live to be not too far from the places we work and from the places we might go to play. In school, we want our children to learn the things we think are important for them as people, not just skills for making a living. We want medical care aimed at keeping us well, not just at salvaging us when we are sick. And when we do get sick we want good care without worrying about the cost. Since we want people to be free to choose their own life style, we need nurseries where mothers who want to work can leave their children, and special school or job arrangements for mothers who want to be with their children most of the time. We want to feel that our children's well-being and opportunities do not depend on our own efforts alone, but are insured by a community of concern. We want to grow our own way, without financial worry, without being coerced by institutions such as the draft. Finally, we want to grow old in a society in which old age is not a disease, but a part of life and a part of the life of the community.

These we agree on as goals, whatever the diversity of mechanisms we propose for achieving them. Our experience and our analysis tell us that capitalism cannot adequately meet all of these needs; that in fact, it constantly recreates these needs or other new needs. But all of these goals must be considered

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transitional goals. Their satisfaction does not comprise socialism. These goals state the minimal conditions for life that every human being should be assured of. They are the goals we see from our present, imperfect society: the restructuring of everyday life in order to make possible a fully human existence.

Even in achieving these limited, transitional goals there is a problem of "human nature." Can an advertising man bend his talents to creating new media for a new kind of humanistic education? Can a production worker who has spent his life putting wheel lugs on Chevrolets reorganize production procedures to make them less alienating? Can children who were taught to be suspicious grow up to teach other children to love? We have all been de-humanized. We are strangers to the joys of working together, without personal profit, for difficult goals. Our social instincts have been constrained to the services of the narrow economic interests of the family or of the corporate team. Our imaginations have been repressed to fit a limited vision of career, family, and fun. We try to reassert our creativity, our imagination, our social nature in hobbies, in popular music and games, in getting "culture." But our every effort is distorted by the mass media and manipulated into nothing more than new consumption desires. There is no greater example of the atrophy of our humanity and imagination than the question, all too frequent even among those who consider themselves socialists: "But what will we do when hunger and poverty are conquered? What challenge will be left?" The jaded spirits who ask this will not spontaneously take up the struggle for a new society and a new man. We can only hope that if they do join the struggle, their sense of human possibilities will grow and their vision will expand beyond the transitional goals of material security.

And yet, we must do more than hope. Ultimately we want not only material well-being for all, we want the possibility of a new kind of man. But even to achieve the transitional goals requires some of the changes in people which are part of the ultimate goal. We see then that humanism—socialist humanism—is not just a value which we have fancifully imposed on society. It grows directly out of the present society. Capitalism generates needs—material and psychological—that cannot be

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solved by capitalism. It creates problems that cannot be solved within capitalism. But those very needs are nothing more than the appearance in objective, material form of the humanistic needs we have been discussing. The humanistic ethic we speak of is not some abstract and idealistic philosophical construction. It is the condition of the solution of the very real and material problems which we face now.

Eternal Revolution

What will it be like after the transitional goals of material comfort are achieved? What will men turn their minds and energy to when they are free to use their minds and energy? We believe—and this is at the core of our belief as socialists—that only then can people begin to work on the most profound human problems. Only then can we begin to face our biological limitations. So far, art and technology have served the narrow interests of capital. What will it be like when they serve the interests of our deepest concerns? Men may work to end disease. They may even question whether death is necessary. Or, they may seek social adaptations to the fact of death. They may demand to know whatever can be known about the physical world. Or they may seek to feel, through art, what cannot be known. We struggle now in the world of men so that someday men will struggle, as men, in the world.

But ultimately, how can we discuss, except in the vaguest terms, what the truly socialist society will be like? All of us living now are blinded by our present to the possibilities of the future. What we know, we know as words like "truly human" and "common goals," not as experience. At heart, the fundamental human assumptions are alien to our experience. Our very notions of "individuals" and "society" are fraught with the tensions of individuals in an inhuman society. What it would be to be an individual in a socialist community of individuals united by common goals we can barely imagine. When we talk of "socialist man" we speak of someone almost unimaginably different from ourselves.

On the other hand, we *can* talk about the institutions which would actually enable people to make decisions about their lives.

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We can talk about factories that are run by the workers who man them, consistent with the needs of a national plan but otherwise with full autonomy. We can talk about changing the nature of production within such a factory so that it satisfies the humanity of the people who work in it rather than the demands of absolute maximal economic efficiency. We can talk about the use of techniques to minimize the amount of time that any individual has to spend at boring or heavy work. We can talk about new methods of teaching, new curricula, new integrations of parents into the educational process. We can talk about political mechanisms to truly democratize government, to change it from a distant, repressive agency into an immediate expression of the decisions of the great masses of Americans about anything which affects them jointly. All such discussions are discussions of people not very different from people now, with all the hang-ups we have accumulated.

We live in times which, with respect to socialism, are prehistoric. The critical problem is this: how can we now take the first steps to what will be, finally, a qualitative change in man? Saying that the change will take generations and may, in fact, never end, does not answer the question. Boot-strapping must start somewhere. It must start here. We, with our narrow vanities, must become teachers whose students will surpass us as teachers. In spite of the lids on our own imaginations, we must still be able to imagine how men's imaginations can be freed. We, with our past of prejudice, of repression, must work from within our own limitations, through institutions of our own making, to create unlimited men, unlimited institutions.

Now, it should be clear that each generation that follows us will, to the extent that we now succeed, ask the same questions. The problem, in short, is eternalizing the revolution. How do we institutionalize revolution, so that we always proceed from our present imperfection toward a perfection which we never reach and never fully comprehend? It is not that upheaval for its own sake is desirable, but that at any given time we must make use of our historically limited perceptions to move toward a less limited existence. Our only assumptions are that human nature has virtually unbounded potentialities. The biological

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limitations of our natures are negligible in comparison with our biological flexibility. But we have had limited historical possibilities of exploring human nature. It is only in the socialist future that we can systematically begin to unfold ourselves, to test our real potentialities. This would be true freedom. Institutionalizing this search for freedom is the problem of creating the institutions of socialism.

Conclusion

Let us recapitulate. The goal of socialism is a truly human society. By this we mean a set of material restructurings of our society so that human needs are met, so that human needs take priority over all others. In a deeper sense we mean vast changes in human nature, changes in the way we relate to each other, to our work, and to society. But the achievement of even the more limited, material goals requires beginning to change people. We cannot create any set of institutions which people as they are now can just step into and proceed promptly toward the restructuring of society. Revolutionary élan may last for a while, but eventually we must seek institutional means of eternalizing revolution. The struggle to change material conditions, even in the most immediate sense, requires the struggle to change people, just as the struggle to change people depends on the ability to change the conditions under which men grow up and live and work. The processes are simultaneous, not sequential. The condition of freeing ourselves from the bonds capitalist society has created—material, cultural and psychological—is "socialism," which is in fact the very changes in human personality, relations, and daily life that we have talked about. The concrete goals and the human goals are separable only on paper. In practice they are the same. But none of this can occur spontaneously. It requires institutions which have their own evolution or even their own dissolution built into them. The task of building a socialist movement and the task of socialism after the revolution are in this sense the same—to undertake reforms the struggle for which and the achievement of which change people into better revolutionaries, better socialists, better people.

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ANTHROPOLOGY AND IMPERIALISM

BY KATHLEEN GOUGH

This paper was first prepared for an audience of anthropologists in the United States of America, where I have taught and researched for the past twelve years.[1]* Some of the questions that it raises apply, although perhaps less acutely, to social and cultural anthropologists from the other industrial nations of Western Europe, North America, Australia, and New Zealand. The international circumstances to which I refer no doubt also create problems for anthropologists born and resident in a number of the Latin American, Asian, and African countries where much anthropological research is carried out. I should be especially glad if this paper stimulates some among the latter anthropologists to comment on how these circumstances are viewed by them and how they affect their work.

Recently a number of anthropologists, and of students, have complained that cultural and social anthropology is failing to tackle significant problems of the modern world. As I have thought so for some time, I should like to make a tentative statement about where I think we stand today, and to follow it with some proposals. This being a new departure, I must ask to be excused if I am both obvious and argumentative.

Anthropology is a child of Western imperialism. It has roots in the humanist visions of the Enlightenment, but as a university discipline and a modern science it came into its own in the last decades of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

Kathleen Gough is teaching at Simon Fraser University, in British Columbia. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Southwestern States Anthropological Association meetings, in San Francisco, California, in March 1967. It was broadcast on KPFA radio and later published in *The Economic and Political Weekly,* Bombay, Sept. 9, 1967. Extracts from it appear in another article, "World Revolution and Science of Man," in *The Dissenting Academy,* edited by Theodore Roszak, Pantheon Books, 1967, pp. 135-158.

* Notes at the end of article.

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This was the period in which the Western nations were making their final push to bring practically the whole pre-industrial, non-Western world under their political and economic control.

Until the Second World War most of our fieldwork was carried out in societies that had been conquered by our own governments. We tended to accept the imperialist framework as given, perhaps partly because we were influenced by the dominant ideas of our time, and partly because at that time there was little anyone could do to dismantle the empires. In spite of some belief in value-free social science, anthropologists in those days seem to have commonly played roles characteristic of white liberals in other spheres of our society, sometimes of white liberal reformers. Anthropologists were of higher social status than their informants; they were usually of the dominant race, and they were protected by imperial law; yet, living closely with native peoples, they tended to take their part and to try to protect them against the worst forms of imperialist exploitation. Customary relations developed between the anthropologists and the government or the various private agencies who funded and protected them. Other types of customary relationships grew up between anthropologists and the people whose institutions they studied. Applied anthropology came into being as a kind of social work and community development effort for non-white peoples, whose future was seen in terms of gradual education, and of amelioration of conditions many of which had actually been imposed by their Western conquerors in the first place.

Since the Second World War, a new situation has come about. There are today some 2,352 million people in underprivileged nations.[2] About 773 million of them, or one third, have already, through revolution, passed out of the sphere of Western imperialism into the new socialist states of China, Mongolia, North Korea, North Vietnam, and Cuba. However arduous and conflictful their conditions, they are now beyond the domination of the capitalist powers and are off on tracks of their own. Because of the Cold War (and in the case of Vietnam, the hot war), American anthropologists are unable to study these societies directly, and have made few comparisons of their

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political economies or community structures with those of underdeveloped nations with capitalist or with "mixed" economies. When American studies of socialist societies are made, I would argue that the built-in assumption that "communism," especially revolutionary communism, is bad and unviable commonly produces distortions of both theory and fact.[3] Granting the difficulties of obtaining reliable information, I believe that more objective studies could be made if greater attention were paid to the work of the few Western social scientists who have lived in these countries, for example, Owen Lattimore (1962), Joan Robinson (1958, 1964), Jan Myrdal (1965), and David and Isabel Crook (1959, 1966). In addition to primary sources from the socialist nations there are also, of course, the writings of Western journalists and other specialists who have lived or traveled in the new socialist countries since their revolutions. Examples are René Dumont (1965, 1967), Stuart and Roma Gelder (1964), Felix Greene (1961, 1964, 1966), Edgar Snow (1962), William Hinton (1966), Han Suyin (1965, 1966, 1967), Anna Louise Strong (1962, 1964), Wilfred Burchett (1963, 1965, 1966), Charles Taylor (1966), and many others. Most of these writers are favorable to the newer socialisms, and most tend to be neglected or scoffed at in the United States. Yet American social scientists think nothing of using travelers' reports to eke out their knowledge of non-Western societies of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, biased or mission-oriented though some of them may have been. Certainly such studies are not discarded on the grounds that their authors happened to like the societies they visited. There is no reason why anthropologists cannot employ similar criteria of objectivity to modern writers who admire China or other socialist countries today.

There remain about 1,579 million people, or 67 percent of the total, in non-Western nations with capitalist or with "mixed" economies. Of those, 49 million, or 2 percent of the total, are still in more or less classical colonial societies such as South Africa, Mozambique, or Angola, ruled by small white elites drawn from the "mother country" or else now severed from it as separate settler populations. About another 511 million, or 22 percent of the total, live in what may be regarded as satellite or client states. The largest of these states, with populations of over

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5 million, are Colombia, Argentina, Peru, Brazil, Ecuador, Chile, Venezuela, the Philippines, South Vietnam, South Korea, Thailand, Taiwan, Malaysia, the Congo, Nigeria, Iran, Southern Arabia, Cameroon and Turkey. The list is very tentative, for modern neo-imperialism varies in intensity. Some might include Mexico and Pakistan, bringing the total to 657 million, or 28 percent of the underdeveloped world. In all of these client states there are indigenous governments, but these tend to be so constrained by Western military or economic aid and by private investments that they have little autonomy. Most of their governments are opposed to social reforms and would probably collapse if Western aid were withdrawn. About 318 million of these people, or 14 percent of the total, live in nations beholden to the United States, either in Latin America—the traditional preserve of United States capital—or else in a fringe around China, where the United States has established satellite regimes in an effort to stave off the spread of revolutionary socialism. If we include Pakistan and Mexico, United States client states amount to about 20 percent of the total.

The remaining 873 million, or 37 percent of the total, live in nations that are usually considered in the West to be relatively independent, under governments containing popular nationalist leaders. Most of these leaders conducted nationalist struggles against European colonialism a decade or two ago, and some fought wars of liberation. By contrast, the governments of most of the client states were either installed by, or arose after, military coups at least partly inspired from the West. Most of the independent "Third World" nations regard themselves as politically neutral, and as in some sense socialist or aspiring to become socialist. Because the appeal of their governments is of a multiclass character, Peter Worsley (1964) calls them "populist." There is a public sector of the economy and an emphasis on national planning, as well as a large private sector dominated by foreign capital. The largest of these states, with populations over 5 million, are India, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Nepal, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, The United Arab Republic, Algeria, Morocco, Kenya, Tanzania, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Ghana.

During the 1950's, many liberal social scientists and others

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hoped that these neutral nations would form a strong Third World that could act independently of either the Western industrial or the Communist powers. I suggest that in the 1960's this hope was dimmed, and is now almost extinguished, chiefly because of the expansion of American capital and military power, the refusal of European nations to relinquish their own economic strongholds, and the failure of many new governments to improve the living conditions of their people. In the past fifteen years, at least 227 million people in 16 nations, or 10 percent of the underdeveloped world, have, after a longer or shorter period of relative independence, moved into or moved back into, a client relationship, usually with the United States. These nations are Guatemala, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, Guyana, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Trinidad and Tobago, South Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, the Congo, Togo and Gabon. In most of these countries the shift in orientation followed a military coup. A further 674 million in India, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Kenya, and Ghana, which I have classified as "independent," have recently moved into much closer dependence on the United States, so that their future as independent nations is now uncertain. Together with the United States' client states and colonial dependencies, this brings to 1.14 billions, or 48 percent, the total whose policies are very heavily swayed by the United States of America. We must also remember that United States capital and military power now exert a strong influence on the colonies and client states of European powers (11 percent of the total), as well as on most of the remaining 8 percent of "neutral" states. In these circumstances, United States power can truly be said to be entrenched with more or less firmness throughout the underdeveloped world outside of the socialist states.

Countering this re-imposition of Western power, armed revolutionary movements now exist in at least 20 countries with a total population of 266 million. These countries are Guatemala, Peru, Venezuela, Ecuador, Paraguay, Brazil, Honduras, Bolivia, Colombia, Angola, Mozambique, the Congo, Cameroon, Portuguese Guinea, Yemen, Southern Arabia, the Philippines, Thailand, Laos and South Vietnam. About 501 million people live in seven other countries where unarmed revolutionary move-

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ments or parties have considerable support, namely India, Rhodesia, Southwest Africa, South Africa, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Panama. In more than one third of the underdeveloped world, therefore, socialist revolution against both native elites and Western dominance is a considered possibility, while in another third it has already been accomplished. Even in the remaining relatively stable colonial, client, or neutral states, a majority of the people is getting poorer, and a small minority of rich is getting richer. Populations are increasing, discontent is widespread, and revolutionary struggles are quite possible within a decade or two.

Whereas in the Fifties, it looked to some of us as though much of the non-Western world might gain genuine political and economic independence from the West by peaceful means, this is no longer the case. Western dominance is continuing under new guises, even expanding and hardening. At the same time, revolution now begins to appear as *the* route by which underdeveloped societies may hope to gain freedom from Western controls.

In this revolutionary and proto-revolutionary world, anthropologists are beginning to be in difficulties. We are rapidly losing our customary relationships as white liberals between the conquerors and the colonized. From the beginning, we have inhabited a triple environment involving obligations, first to the peoples we studied, second, to our colleagues and our science, and third, to the powers who employed us in universities or who funded our research. In many cases we seem now to be in danger of being torn apart by the conflicts between the first and third set of obligations, while the second set of loyalties, to our subject as an objective and humane endeavour, is being severely tested and jeopardized. On the one hand, part of the non-Western world is in revolt, especially against the American government as the strongest and most counterrevolutionary of the Western powers. The war in Vietnam has, of course, exacerbated the non-Western sense of outrage, although the actual governments of most of these nations are so dependent on the United States, that they soften their criticisms. On the other hand, anthropologists are becoming increasingly subject to restrictions, unethical temptations, and political controls from the

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United States government and its subordinate agencies, as Professor Ralph Beals' report on Problems of Anthropological Research and Ethics amply shows.[4] The question tends to become: what does an anthropologist do who is dependent on a counterrevolutionary government, in an increasingly revolutionary world? To complicate matters, into the arena has stepped a fourth and most vociferous public, namely students, who once imbibed knowledge peaceably, but who are now, because of their own crises, asking awkward questions about ethics, commitments, and goals.

There is little wonder that with all these demands many anthropologists bury themselves in their specialties or, if they *must* go abroad, seek out the remotest, least unstable tribe or village they can find.

As Peter Worsley has recently pointed out, however, in a paper called "The End of Anthropology?" we shall eventually have to choose either to remain, or become, specialists who confine themselves to the cultures of small-scale, pre-industrial societies, or else, bringing to bear all our knowledge of cultural evolution and of primitive social institutions, embark fully on the study of modern societies, including modern revolutions. If we take the former path, as our subject matter disappears, we shall become historians, and will retreat from the substantial work we have already done in contemporary societies. If we take the latter path, which is the one some of us must inevitably follow, we shall have to admit that our subject matter is increasingly the same as that of political scientists, economists, and sociologists. The only way that we can *not* admit this is by confining ourselves to studies of small segments of modern society. But as the scale of these societies widens, such studies are less and less justifiable theoretically or methodologically except within a framework of understanding of what is happening to the larger system. Anthropologists have, moreover, some right to demand of themselves that they do study the larger system as a totality, for they have fifty years of experience of analysing the interconnectedness of political, economic, and religious institutions within smaller-scale systems. While they must necessarily depend for much of their data on the other social sciences, anthropologists do have some historical claim to play a synthesizing role.

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Unfortunately we have, I think, a serious drawback in our own history which makes it very difficult for us to approach modern society as a single, interdependent, world social system; that is, although we have worked for over a hundred years in conquered societies, and although for at least fifty of them we have emphasized the interconnectedness of parts of social systems, we have virtually failed to study Western imperialism as a social system, or even adequately to explore the effects of imperialism on the societies we studied. Of late a few pioneer works have appeared which attempt this task, notably Worsley's own book, *The Third World.* Wallerstein's collection, *Social Change: the Colonial Situation,* draws together useful extracts by social scientists and nationalist leaders over the past twenty years. Wolf's study of Mexico (1959), Steward's and others' of Puerto Rico (1956), Epstein's of politics in the Zambian copper-belt (1958), and a number of others also move in this general direction. But it is remarkable how few anthropologists have studied imperialism, especially its economic system.

It is true, of course, that anthropologists have made numerous studies of modern social change in pre-industrial societies, especially in local communities. They have, however, usually handled them through very general concepts: "culture-contact," "acculturation," "social change," "modernization," "urbanization," "Westernization," or "the folk-urban continuum." Force, suffering, and exploitation tend to disappear in these accounts of structural processes, and the units of study are usually so small that it is hard to see the forest for the trees. These approaches, in the main, have produced factual accounts and limited hypotheses about the impact of industrial cultures on pre-industrial ones in local communities, but have done little to aid understanding of the world distribution of power under imperialism or of its total system of economic relationships. Until recently there has also been, of course, a bias in the types of non-Western social units chosen for study, with primitive communities least touched by modern changes being preferred over the mines, cash-crop plantations, white settlements, bureaucracies, urban concentrations, and nationalist movements that have played such prominent roles in colonial societies.

Why have anthropologists not studied world imperialism

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as a unitary phenomenon? To begin to answer this question would take another article. I will merely suggest some possible lines of enquiry, namely: (1) the very process of specialization within anthropology and between anthropology and the related disciplines, especially political science, sociology, and economics; (2) the tradition of individual field work in small-scale societies, which at first produced a rich harvest of ethnography but later placed constraints on our methods and theories; (3) unwillingness to offend the governments that funded us, by choosing controversial subjects; and (4) the bureaucratic, counterrevolutionary setting in which anthropologists have increasingly worked in their universities, which may have contributed to a sense of impotence and to the development of machine-like models.

It may be objected that I have ignored the large volume of post-war American writing in applied anthropology and in economic and political anthropology concerned with development. This work certainly exists, and some of it is fruitful. I would argue, however, that much of it springs from erroneous or doubtful assumptions and theories that are being increasingly challenged by social scientists in the new nations themselves. Among these assumptions are: the explanation of economic backwardness in terms of values and psychological characteristics of the native population; the assumption that it is desirable to avoid rapid, disruptive changes; the refusal to take value-positions that oppose official policies; the insistence on multiple causation; the assumption that the local community is a suitable unit for development programs; the belief that the main process by which development occurs is diffusion from an industrial center; and the refusal to contemplate the possibility that for some societies revolution may be the only practicable means toward economic advance.[5] In general, applied and economic anthropology stemming from North America has assumed an international capitalist economy in its framework. The harsh fact seems to be, however, that in most countries of the underdeveloped world where private enterprise predominates, the living conditions of the majority are deteriorating, and "take-off" is not occurring. If this is true it will not be surprising if

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the intellectuals of these countries reject the metropolitan nations' applied social science and seek remedies elsewhere.

There are of course already a large number of studies, indeed a whole literature, on Western imperialism, most although not all by writers influenced by Marx. In addition to the classic treatments by J. A. Hobson (1954), Lenin (1939) and Rosa Luxemburg (1951), Parker T. Moon (1925), Mary E. Townsend (1940), Eric Williams (1944), Fritz Steinberg (1951), the anthropologist Ramakrishna Mukherjee (1958), and Paul A. Baran (1957) have provided outstanding examples of such work. More recent studies include, of course, Baran and Sweezy's *Monopoly Capital,* Nkrumah's *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism,* René Dumont's *Lands Alive* and *False Start in Africa,* Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* and *Studies in a Dying Colonialism,* and A. G. Frank's *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America.* Such books tend in America to be either ignored or reviewed cursorily and then dismissed. They rarely appear in standard anthropological bibliographies. I can only say that this American rejection of Marxist and other "rebel" literature, especially since the McCarthy period, strikes me as tragic. The refusal to take seriously and to defend as intellectually respectable the theories and challenges of these writers has to a considerable extent deadened controversy in our subject, as well as ruining the careers of particular individuals. It is heartening that in recent years the publications of Monthly Review Press, International Publishers, *Studies on the Left,* and other left-wing journals have become a kind of underground literature for many graduate students and younger faculty in the social sciences. But both orthodox social science and these Marxist-influenced studies suffer from the lack of open confrontation and argument between their proponents. There are of course political reasons for this state of affairs, stemming from our dependence on the powers, but it is unfortunate that we have allowed ourselves to become so subservient, to the detriment of our right of free enquiry and free speculation.

I should like to suggest that some anthropologists who are interested in these matters could begin a work of synthesis by focussing on some of the contradictions between the assertions

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and theories of these non-American or un-American writers and those of orthodox American social scientists, and choosing research problems that would throw light on these contradictions. Among such problems might be the following:

1. Is it true, as A. G. Frank (1967c) argues from United Nations figures, that *per capita* food production in non-Communist Asia, Africa, and Latin America has declined in many cases to below pre-war levels, since 1960, whereas it has risen above pre-war levels in China and Cuba? Or is it generally true, as the American press asserts and many social scientists assume, that capitalist agricultural production in underdeveloped countries is poor, but socialist production is even poorer?

2. A set of research problems might be developed around comparisons of the structure and efficiency of socialist and capitalist foreign aid. One might, for example, compare the scope and results of American economic and military aid to the Dominican Republic with those of Russian aid to Cuba. Although Americans cannot go freely to Cuba, it is conceivable that a European and an American, coordinating their research problems, might do such comparative work. In countries such as India, the UAR, or Algeria, comparable socialist and capitalist aid projects might be studied within the same locality.

3. We need comparative studies of types of modern intersocietal political and economic dominance, to define and refine such concepts as imperialism, neo-colonialism, etc. How, for example, does Russian power over one or another of the East European countries compare with that of the United States over certain Latin American or Southeast Asian countries with respect to such variables as military coercion, the disposal of the subordinate society's economic surplus, and the relations between political elites? How does Chinese control over Tibet compare, historically, structurally, and functionally, with Indian control over Kashmir, Hyderabad, or the Naga Hills, and what have been the effects of these controls on the class structures, economic productivity, and local political institutions of these regions?

4. Comparative studies of revolutionary and proto-revolutionary movements are clearly desirable if we are to keep abreast

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with indigenous movements for social change. In spite of obvious difficulties, it is possible to study some revolutions after they have occurred, or to study revolts in their early stages or after they have been suppressed.[6] There *are*, moreover, Westerners who live and travel with revolutionary movements; why are anthropologists seldom or never among them? We need to know, for example, whether there is a common set of circumstances under which left-wing and nationalist revolutions have occurred or have been attempted in recent years in Cuba, Algeria, Indo-China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, Kenya, and Zanzibar. Are there any recognizable shifts in ideology or organization between these earlier revolts and the guerrilla movements now taking shape in Guatemala, Venezuela, Columbia, Angola, Mozambique, Laos, Thailand, Cameroon, Yemen, or Southern Arabia? What are the types of peasantry and urban workers most likely to be involved in these revolutions; are these typologies of leadership and organization? Why have some failed and others succeeded? How did it happen, for example, that some 1,000,000 communists and their families and supporters were killed in 1966 in Indonesia with almost no indigenous resistance, and how does this affect the self-assessment and prospects of, say, the Left Communist Party in India?

I may be accused of asking for Project Camelot, but I am not. I am asking that we should do these studies in *our* way, as we would study a cargo-cult or *kula*-ring, without the built-in biases of tainted financing, without the assumption that counter-revolution, and not revolution, is the best answer, and with the ultimate economic and spiritual welfare of our informants, and of the international community, before us rather than the short-run military or industrial profits of the Western nations. I would also ask that these studies be attempted by individuals or self-selected teams, rather than as part of the grand artifice of some externally stimulated master-plan. Perhaps what I am asking is not possible any more in America. I am concerned that it may not be, that Americans are already too compromised, too constrained by their own imperial government. If that is so, the question really is how anthropologists can get back their freedom of enquiry and of action, and I suggest that, individually and collectively, we should place this first on the list.

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NOTES

1. My husband, David F. Aberle, and I left the United States in 1967 to live and work in Canada. We did so partly because of the general problems to which I refer in this paper. More immediately, we were unwilling to allow the academic grades that we gave our male students in their university classes to be used by draft boards, under the Selective Service system, as a criterion of whether or not they should be conscripted for military service in Vietnam. I mention this as an instance, relevant to the subject of this paper, of ways in which the proper goals of intellectual work have been undermined by current nationalist and military policies.
2. I use the term "underdeveloped" to refer to societies which have, or have recently had, particular features of economic structure produced as a result of several decades or centuries of overt or covert domination by Western industrial capitalist nations. I have included in this category all the nations and the remaining colonies of Latin America, Africa, and Asia, with the exception of Japan. These and later figures are derived from United Nations totals of 1961, as provided in the *World Almanac* of 1967. For some of the more general characteristics of underdeveloped economies see Gunnar Myrdal (1956), especially Chapters XI, XII, and XIII; Paul A. Baran (1957), and A. G. Frank (1966, 1967a).
3. There are, of course, notable exceptions to this statement, among them, for example, Franz Schurmann (1966).
4. See the *Fellow Newsletter* of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. 8, No. 1, January 1967.
5. For these and other criticisms, see Guillermo Bonfil Batalla (1966), P. Chikwe Onwuachi and Alvin W. Wolfe (1966), Rodolfo Stavenhagen (1966-67), and A. G. Frank (1967b).
6. For a rare example of such a study, see Donald L. Barnett and Karari Njama (1966).

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It is the great advantage of the new movement that we do not seek to anticipate the new world dogmatically, but rather to discover it in the criticism of the old. . . . It is not our task to build up the future in advance and to settle all problems for all time; our task is ruthless criticism of everything that exists, ruthless in the sense that the criticism will not shrink either from its own conclusions or from conflict with the powers that be. —*Marx*

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TOWARD AN INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY

BY J. MICHAEL DAWN

> Marxist philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world. . . . Only social practice can be the criterion of truth.
>
> —*Mao Tse-tung*[1]*

For those socialists who would "change the world," theory must both serve revolutionary practice and be guided by it. Successful revolutionary strategies must be derived from correct theory, and where strategies fail these failures must be used to correct and advance theoretical understanding. Unfortunately, this is more easily accepted "in theory" than "in practice."

Among Left groups in the United States there is a tendency for theory to become rigid. Instead of being guided by social practice, theory is more often used as a test of one's loyalty to "the group" and as a screen to filter through those social facts which tend to support it. Marxism is thus reduced from a scientific method of social analysis to a dogma.

In most cases, rather than question long-standing theoretical assumptions, contending left groups implicitly agree upon the latter while engaging in polemic battles over "correct" strategies and tactics. One such theoretical assumption is very widespread and of great importance. It is reflected in two rarely well articulated views regarding the probability, timing, and nature of an "American socialist revolution."

There are, on the one hand, those who maintain or imply that there is little likelihood of an armed socialist revolution in the United States, that it is at best very far off, and that a

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J. Michael Dawn is the pen name of a United States social scientist at present teaching in one of the outer reaches of the American Empire.

* Notes at the end of the article.

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socialist America will be the end-product of a long and relatively peaceful process of structural reform. On the other hand, there are those who hold that an armed socialist revolution in the United States is inevitable, that it will occur in the not-too-distant future, and that it will involve rapid and sweeping structural changes.

The point here is that these opposing views, and others like them, share a vital implicit assumption: that the *correct unit of analysis is the United States*. They agree, in other words, that the social unit wherein socialism will come through armed revolutionary struggle or peaceful reform is the United States and, by implication, that the decisive social forces involved in this process lie within the American nation. For many, theoretical justification for this assumption is found in the writings of Marx, and historical proof of its correctness in the Russian and Chinese Revolutions.

Even where this model of "national" socialist transformation is not explicitly asserted, it operates nonetheless through a vocabulary of nationalism which identifies the relevant social system in terms such as "here" and "there," "American" and "Bolivian," "our struggle" and "theirs." Few indeed are those United States socialists who fail to take pride in the "Americanness" of the coming "American Revolution." For this, they proclaim, "we" can and must achieve in "our" country just as the Cubans had to achieve "theirs" in Cuba.

In what follows, I shall try to show that this deeply entrenched theoretical position is both false and, more important, it impedes the development of sound revolutionary strategy and tactics.

Imperialism has been a commonplace subject of serious discussion at least since Lenin. All socialists acknowledge its existence, tacitly recognize its importance, and make public anti-imperialist pronouncements. There are surprisingly few, however, who treat the imperialist system as the proper social unit for the class analysis of modern capitalist society. Still fewer use such analyses to fashion revolutionary strategies.

If we are to proceed to such an analysis and strategy, it is important at the outset to recognize that capitalism, since its inception, has been an international system of competing em-

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pires and nations. Each capitalist empire, rather than a mere aggregate or collection of nations, has represented a complex set of social relationships linking a number of nations and peoples within a single integrated system.

Over the past few centuries there has been a divergent development within imperialism between the *dominant* mercantile-industrial nations of Europe, North America, and Japan, and the *subordinate* industrially underdeveloped "agrarian" nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This divergence has not been accidental, nor has it been "caused" by geographical, racial, or psychological factors. Dominance and subordination within the imperialist system have always been accompanied, respectively, by economic development and underdevelopment. As Gunder Frank has recently demonstrated with respect to Latin America, development and underdevelopment are but two sides of the same imperialist coin.

> The metropolis expropriates economic surplus from its satellites and appropriates it for its own economic development. The satellites remain underdeveloped for lack of access to their own surplus. . . . One and the same historical process of expansion and development throughout the world has generated—and continues to generate—both economic development and structural underdevelopment.[2]

These surpluses drained from the subordinate to the metropolitan nations of the capitalist world have amounted, in recent years, to more than $30 million *an hour*. In addition, the dominant nations of modern imperialism control more than three fourths of the known major mineral resources in Asian, African, and Latin American countries and about four fifths of the total output of 22 kinds of important raw materials in these same countries.[3]

Classical capitalist empires, with few exceptions such as "Greater Portugal," have passed from the contemporary scene. These were named politico-economic systems (e.g., the British Empire) containing a dominant metropolitan country and subordinate colonies. Direct political rule and administration were used by the metropolitan ruling class to consolidate and expand its mercantile and, later, financial privileges and monopoly control within the colonized nations. Police and military forces of

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the metropolis were employed directly within the colonies to maintain "law and order" and safeguard metropolitan interests against the colonized masses.

Modern capitalist empires, by contrast, are not named and contain a dominant industrial metropolis and nominally independent "neocolonies." Indirect political control and influence, based primarily on economic power, are employed by the metropolitan ruling class to establish and broaden its economic and other privileges within the neocolonies. This economic power is today wielded by a few giant corporations of the metropolitan centers through capital penetration, monopoly control of strategic resources and advanced technology, manipulation of commodity markets, and so on.

As with political control, military power is preferably employed indirectly, through nationals of the neocolonies. Policing the masses is normally left in the hands of the local regimes which are propped up by metropolitan economic and military "aid," advisory and training missions, and so on. In the background, however, stand the military bases and mobile forces of the metropolitan state, ready to intervene directly should revolutionary action threaten to put an end to metropolitan ruling-class privilege. Today, for example, in order to defend its vast empire against the threat of socialist revolution, the United States maintains throughout the world an estimated 3,300 military bases and is employing more than half a million combat troops in Vietnam alone.[4]

Modern empires are themselves related within the system of international capitalism. Some neocolonies are "shared" by two or more metropolitan centers which compete for monopoly control over strategic resources and markets. Such is the case, for example, of Guyana with respect to the United States and Britain. Instead of being territorially exclusive, as with classical empires, modern empires thus tend to have overlapping neocolonial spheres of influence and control.

Again, the several metropolises of contemporary empires stand to one another as dominant or subordinate within a hierarchical international system. Recent shifts and conflicts, particularly since the Second World War, have seen the United States move into a seemingly unchallengeable position as dom-

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inant metropolis of the capitalist world. Through its growing military and economic power, the United States has expanded its imperial domain and influence at the expense of weaker dominant nations and the waning classical empires they ruled. The shift in status to "political independence" of many subordinate nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America has constituted, in fact, a movement from direct old-style colonization under the British, French, Dutch, Japanese, etc., to neocolonization within the expanding American Empire.[5] And to the extent that the other metropolitan centers have themselves become semi-satellites of the United States through capital penetration, NATO, etc., the United States has become the leading metropolis of a modern World Empire. With only 6 percent of the world's population, the United States today owns or controls nearly 60 percent of the world's known natural resources.[6]

Clearly, the fundamental contradiction of our era is between the international systems of capitalism and socialism. The violent struggles to resolve this contradiction are being waged today primarily within the imperialist system, where liberation movements fight to achieve genuine political independence and rapid economic advance. That the struggles for national liberation and socialism are very closely related has been persuasively argued by Baran and Sweezy in *Monopoly Capital*:

> . . . policing the empire and fighting socialism are rapidly becoming, if they are not already, one and the same. For the threat to the empire comes from revolutionary movements which . . . are sparked by a deep-seated yearning for national independence and are fueled by an increasingly urgent need for economic development, which experience is proving cannot be achieved today except on the basis of public enterprise and comprehensive planning —in short, only if their national revolutions are also socialist revolutions.[7]

Viewed from a class standpoint, the American and other contemporary capitalist empires can be seen to contain three basic class contradictions. Since these contradictions are antagonistic and irreconcilable, they will require major structural changes for their resolution. In fact, for their complete resolution they will require nothing less than the total elimination of imperialism.

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The first and fundamental contradiction within the modern empire is between the ruling class of the industrialized metropolis and the combined peasant and worker classes of the neocolonies. Cutting across national boundaries, this contradiction involves the major exploiting and exploited classes within the total empire. The second contradiction pits the ruling class of each neocolony against its domestic peasant and worker classes. This contradiction is vividly revealed in the armed struggles now taking place in Burma, Guatemala, Venezuela, etc., between the forces of the ruling national and comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisies and those of the peasant-worker masses. The third contradiction is between the ruling class of the metropolis and its domestic proletariat. This struggle pits a largely urban working class against the "military-industrial complex" of the metropolitan giant corporations.

Though these three contradictions are closely related, they are not equal in importance or, during any one period, in intensity. The first, empire-wide contradiction is of fundamental importance because it exercises a decisive influence on the others. The full achievement of proletarian and peasant-worker states in the metropolis and neocolonies depends in large measure upon the progressive resolution of this empire-wide contradiction.

Wars of national liberation represent efforts to resolve the first and second contradictions in favor of the neocolonial masses. The first task of such movements is to overthrow their local ruling class and state apparatus, which will bring them into indirect, then direct, confrontation with the military arm of the metropolitan state. Secondly, they must break or fundamentally alter their relationship with the metropolitan ruling class so as to eliminate the latter's privilege and consolidate worker-peasant state power. This involves nationalizing foreign-owned industry and commercial firms, re-orienting trade, cutting colonial cultural and ideological ties.

In this revolutionary process it is obvious that the achievement of state power by the neocolonial masses must *precede* the breaking of old and unequal relations with the metropolis. It is equally clear, however, that the severance of neocolonial ties with the metropolis is a precondition for the consolidation of worker-peasant state power. For example: In Cuba the domes-

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tic class struggle was consolidated in favor of the peasants and workers only when the latter fundamentally altered their relations with the United States ruling class. In Mexico, however, the domestic class contradiction was only partially and temporarily resolved through the revolutionary struggles of a half century ago because the relationship between the Mexican masses and United States ruling class was *not* fundamentally altered.

It can be seen, then, that in the course of contemporary revolutionary struggles, the conflict of greatest intensity and immediacy shifts from the "internal" class contradiction within the neocolony to the "external" contradiction between the neocolonial masses and the metropolitan ruling class; and that victory in both spheres is a necessary condition for victory in each.

Let us now contrast the third contradiction, pitting the metropolitan working class against its domestic ruling class, with the other two. It is clear that at present the metropolitan class struggle is less acute than the conflicts between the neocolonial masses and their respective internal and external ruling classes. In fact, with the flourishing of both old and new empires since the 1880's, the proletarian movements of the various metropolitan centers have tended more toward reform politics and narrow economic interests than toward armed revolution and the seizure of state power.

These two developments, of imperialist growth and working class accommodation, are not unrelated. The very existence of colonies and neocolonies has served the dual purpose of strengthening the metropolitan bourgeoisies and hindering the development of revolutionary conditions among the metropolitan proletariats. The fact that a significant and highly influential sector of the metropolitan working class has received a "corrupting" share of the profits of imperialist super-exploitation has been frequently noted. Thus Engels wrote in 1882:

> You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general: the same as the bourgeois think. There is no worker's party here, you see, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and colonies.[8]

Lenin, writing on the same subject in 1916, observed:

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Obviously, out of such enormous *superprofits* (since they are obtained over and above the profits which capitalists squeeze out of the workers of their "own" country) it is possible to *bribe* the labour leaders and the upper stratum of the labour aristocracy. And the capitalists of the "advanced" countries are bribing them; they bribe them in a thousand different ways, direct and indirect, overt and covert.[9]

More recently, in 1958, Frantz Fanon wrote:

The "metropolitan" capitalists allow social advantages and wage increases to be wrung from them by their workers to the exact extent to which the colonialist state allows them to exploit and make raids on the occupied territories. At the critical point . . . the interest of the "metropolitan" workers and peasants seems to go counter to that of the colonized peoples.[10]

Finally, as if to corroborate this view, AFL-CIO president George Meany told reporters on December 6, 1967: "Nobody likes this [Vietnam] war. . . . But we're in there to protect the interests and security of the American people. . . . Labor's interests are closely tied to . . . the Johnson administration."[11]

If imperialism has served at least the short-run material interests of the metropolitan proletariat, what then is the relationship between revolutionary struggles in the metropolis and in the neocolonies? First, it must be noted that the sequence of revolutionary phases within the empire is necessarily reversed. In the neocolonial sphere, so long as the empire can be said to exist, a subordinate nation's ruling class and state must be overthrown *before* the underprivileged nature of its relations with the metropolis can be destroyed and its economic independence established. In the metropolitan center, however, the successful proletarian revolution cannot but *follow* a certain critical stage in the development of national liberation struggles in the neocolonies.

Viewed from a slightly different and, I believe, more fruitful angle as a *single revolution* within the multinational imperialist system, the revolutionary armed struggle can be seen as spreading from the more oppressed and impoverished peasants and workers in the neocolonies to the less but, as the struggle continues, increasingly exploited proletariat of the metropolis. Generalizing on the successful Chinese strategy of establishing

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rural base areas and encircling the cities from the countryside, Lin Piao has put the matter this way:

> Taking the entire globe, if North America and Western Europe can be called "the cities of the world," then Asia, Africa, and Latin America constitute "the rural areas of the world." Since World War II, the proletarian movement has for various reasons been temporarily held back in North America and West European capitalist countries, while the people's revolutionary movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America has been growing vigorously. In a sense, the contemporary world revolution also presents a picture of encirclement of cities by the rural areas.[12]

We have already noted the major factor which has "held back" the proletarian revolutionary movement in the Western metropolises. In the American Empire there is little doubt that the superprofits reaped by the multinational giant corporations in the neocolonies and satellites, together with the vast military expenditures necessary to sustain and expand this "free world colossus," serve both to strengthen the corporate ruling class and to "buy off" large and significant sectors of the working class. The reasons why this metropolitan "class collaboration" is only a temporary phenomenon are also to be found in the developing relationship of forces within the Empire.

Facing material conditions which are steadily deteriorating, and with a growing knowledge that socialism provides the answer to their most pressing economic problems, the masses in more and more neocolonies are entering the path of armed revolution. In order to defend its imperial domain against socialist "encroachment," the American ruling class faces a very serious dilemma. On the one hand, minimal defense and eventual loss of neocolonies, as happened in the case of Cuba, will result in a steady cut-back in superprofits, the forfeiture of monopoly control over commodity markets and vital raw materials, and a narrowing of capital investment-outlets, all of which promises to heighten domestic economic contradictions to a dangerous degree. On the other hand, by waging a number of protracted counter-revolutionary wars, as in Vietnam, the United States ruling class will both exacerbate its strategic military manpower weakness and increase the ranks of disgruntled workers, alienated students, and disaffected intellectuals

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in the metropolis. For it is certain that multiple and protracted counter-insurgency efforts will eventually undercut the privileges of the upper and middle white working class, and intensify the oppression of the lower white and black proletariat and *lumpens* of the ghetto. At the same time, these counter-revolutionary struggles will, ironically, demand an increasingly higher price in blood from the proletariat as a whole, which must serve as the major source of cannon-fodder in the military defense of imperial privilege.

If this analysis is correct, then it is of paramount importance for United States socialists to abandon their parochial national bias and outlook, and to begin to fashion revolutionary theory and strategy within an imperialist framework. It is the Empire, rather than the nation, which defines and determines the character of the social system in which we live, suffer or benefit, struggle or acquiesce. And, though we happen to reside in the privileged metropolis—and in fact share in its privileges—it is the whole Empire which should determine the range and nature of our revolutionary action.

Surely the United States "military-industrial complex," with its multinational giant corporations, wide-ranging military operations, and CIA escapades, recognizes and accepts its "responsibilities" as an imperial ruling class. Through its official pronouncements and mass-media propaganda it is constantly proclaiming or bemoaning its role and duties as policeman of the "Free World" and shouting of the need to protect "our national interest" in Vietnam, Guatemala, the Congo, etc. It is also clear that the peasant-worker masses in an increasing number of neocolonies recognize their subordinate and underprivileged position within the Empire and are struggling in various ways to break free of its exploitative grasp. What is not at all clear is that United States revolutionaries understand *their position* within the Empire and, further, accept *their* responsibilities in the anti-imperialist struggles which are raging. They fail, it seems, to comprehend or fully appreciate the essential unity and internal dynamics of the struggle *for* socialism and *against* imperialism. They fail to see, in short, that a revolutionary movement within any particular neocolony both implies

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and represents a revolutionary movement within the American Empire and against the American ruling class—that since revolutionary struggles are *in fact* taking place in several neocolonies such as Vietnam, Guatemala, and Venezuela, they are *ipso facto* occurring within the American Empire as well; and that it is no longer a question of "if" or "when" the "American" revolution is going to begin, but of how best to employ our forces in the unitary anti-imperialist revolution which is *already well under way.*

Socialism, it is here argued, can be most effectively struggled for and achieved within the American *nation* only as and when the *multinational* imperialist system which sustains its monopoly capitalist character and ruling class is dismembered and destroyed. If this is so, the most important strategic question for those of us who happen to be living within the "cities" of the Empire is: How do we most effectively relate ourselves to the revolutionary struggles now occurring in the imperial "countryside"?

In answering this question I would suggest that what we need is a dual "urban-rural" strategy. On the "rural" or neocolonial front this will involve United States revolutionaries, together with militants of the other metropolitan centers, in both direct and indirect participation in revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles. Those participating directly in the armed struggle in the "countryside," as technicians, combatants, etc., should be assisted by militants remaining within the "city" and responsible for such tasks as recruitment, the provision of funds and material, and propaganda.

On the "urban" or metropolitan front, during the present stage of the struggle, our primary strategy should be to harass and morally isolate the ruling-class regime. A wide variety of mass organizations and both legal and illegal tactics can be employed for the purposes of increasing popular disaffection, furthering the moral isolation of the Establishment, and tying down United States troops within the metropolis.

The two dimensions of this "rural-urban" strategy are, of course, closely related. An advance in one sphere increases the likelihood of success in the other. Thus, in the "urban" spheres, increasing harassment and moral isolation of the Establishment will exacerbate its critical military manpower weakness both

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by forcing it to divert significant numbers of troops from the "countryside" to the "city" for urban repressive measures, and by further reducing the morale of its forces. Again, by successfully advancing an anti-imperialist ideology, and by expanding the meaning of the term "the people" to include the exploited masses of the entire Empire, subjective conditions for increasing "urban" support of "rural" liberation movements will be fostered.

In the "rural" sphere, increasing participation by metropolitan revolutionaries in national liberation struggles will accelerate the development of revolutionary material and subjective conditions among United States and Western European workers. Not only will it help advance the dismemberment process within the Empire, thus weakening the metropolitan ruling class, but it will undercut the lulling material advantages of the upper "urban" proletariat and middle class. More important, perhaps, is the fact that it will provide a *material foundation* for the urgently needed internationalist component of metropolitan socialist ideology.

The metropolitan Left all too frequently underestimates its strength and potential contribution to the international socialist revolution. Many are still under the sway of parochial, internally oriented ideologies. Others are overwhelmed by the relative numerical inferiority of metropolitan Left forces. And almost all tend to take for granted the vast technical skills and resources at their disposal in the metropolis. Our contention here is that despite our current numerical weakness, there are literally thousands of young militants in the capitalist centers who would be willing to serve in the anti-imperialist struggles taking place in the imperial "countryside"; that there are many more who would be willing to support such actions while remaining "at home"; that in addition to manpower, the technical skills and resources we have to offer could be put to good use by most liberation movements; and finally that we can, and of course should, make a significant contribution to the struggle against imperialism and the eventual victory of the international socialist revolution.

"Socialists in the United States," as the editors of MONTHLY REVIEW have written, "have got to stop thinking of themselves as a tiny minority with the task—which many of them have

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already concluded is hopeless—of making a specifically American revolution. Instead, they must think of themselves as members of an immense international movement capable of embracing the overwhelming majority of mankind, which has the revolutionary task of defeating and overthrowing international imperialism."[13]

The struggle for socialism "in the United States" is and must be international in scope. The Dienbienphus of the international revolution are as likely to occur in Mexico, Indonesia, or the Congo, as in the United States itself. In fact, as the revolution spreads to increasing numbers of colonies and neocolonies within the United States-dominated international capitalist system, the whole notion and reality of exclusive "national" boundaries may begin to fade into relative insignificance. It is surely time for the United States Left to realize—and act accordingly—that there simply will not be an isolated "American" revolution. Our revolution will of necessity be international. Our strategy and tactics must be geared to this reality.

NOTES

1. Mao Tse-tung, *On Practice.* In the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung,* Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, pp. 297, 304.

2. Frank, Andre Gunder, *Development & Underdevelopment in Latin America,* Monthly Review Press, New York, 1967, p. 9.

3. Nan Han-chen, *Resolutely Struggle Against Imperialism & Neo-Colonialism & For the Economic Emancipation of the Afro-Asian Peoples,* Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, p. 6.

4. From Bertrand Russell's message to the First Solidarity Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, held in Havana in January, 1966. Reprinted in *The Minority of One,* January, 1966.

5. See Baran and Sweezy's *Monopoly Capital,* Chapter 7, for a further development of this point. They conservatively list, as belonging to the American Empire: "The United States itself and a few colonial possessions (notably Puerto Rico and the Pacific islands); all Latin American countries except Cuba; Canada; four countries in the Near and Middle East (Turkey, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Iran); four countries in South and Southeast Asia (Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines, and South Vietnam); two countries in East Asia (South Korea and Formosa); two countries in Africa (Liberia and Libya); and one country in Europe (Greece)." This empire, the authors state, contained 18,467,000 square miles and 660,600,000 people as of 1960. Taking into account those subordinate nations in which the United States shares power with other metropolises, these figures would be greatly increased.

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6. Bertrand Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

7. Baran and Sweezy, *Monopoly Capital,* p. 206.

8. Engels, Frederick, *Marx & Engels On Colonialism,* Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, p. 340.

9. Lenin, V. I., *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism,* International Publishers, New York, 1939, pp. 13-14.

10. Fanon, Frantz, *Toward The African Revolution,* Monthly Review Press, New York, 1967, p. 145.

11. *International Herald Tribune,* Wednesday, December 6, 1967.

12. Lin Piao, *Long Live the Victory of People's War,* Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, pp. 48-49.

13. MONTHLY REVIEW, June, 1965, p. 3.

Marx was able to appreciate the fact that moments occurred in history when the desperate struggle of the *masses* even for a hopeless cause is *necessary* for the sake of the further education of these masses and their training for the *next struggle.*

—Lenin

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

Random Notes on India

When I last visited New Delhi, in February, 1967, the ground in front of the airport buildings had been torn up in places, with dirt from the operation heaped here and there, giving visitors a feeling of disorder and discomfort. When I returned to New Delhi nine months later, in November, 1967, the same piles of dirt were there, still interfering with traffic and still marring the appearance of the airport.

Speaking in terms of aviation, Delhi is one of the main gateways to India. If the approaches to the Delhi airport could be cleaned up, spick and span, and bordered with flowering plants, shrubs, and trees, it would enhance the beauty of the place and remove the blight of slipshod carelessness and inattention to detail which mar the present approaches to the airport. With a twelve-month frost-free growing season, such as that enjoyed by New Delhi, landscaping and beautifying an airport should present no technical problems.

Ouside of Madras, on the road to Adyar, in February, 1967, I passed perhaps a mile of cast-iron water-pipe sections. They were about four feet in diameter. These pipe sections were lying scattered at random along a main road, presumably just as they had been dumped from trucks. The lower side of the pipe sections was covered with dirt and weeds. They had obviously been there for a long time. In December, 1967, driving along the same road, I saw the same pipe sections, with a bit more sand and trash inside them, lying in the same positions.

These pipe sections cost a lot of money. The money they represent has been tied up for many months, or perhaps years, while the pipe lay idle on top of the ground. The service which the pipe sections will provide when they are put in place has been denied to water-users along the line. Their non-use bespeaks costly procrastination and inefficiency.

In South India, on St. Mark's Road, Bangalore, at the junction with Bowring Institute Road, stands a State Bank of

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India. It was an old building when I changed some dollars there ten years ago. When I returned in early 1967, the old building was still in use, while a new bank building constructed to the first story was being erected on the premises. Eleven months later, in January, 1968, one further story had been added. While in Bangalore I passed this new building several times each day. At no time did I see more than four persons working on this rather large project. To say that construction was proceeding slowly would be a gross exaggeration.

Buildings like this cost a great deal of money. If a building project drags on for months or years the heavy overhead costs continue without producing any income. The result is a dead loss which could be prevented if the projects were begun, pushed to completion on a time schedule, finished off neatly, and the surplus materials, the equipment, and the manpower moved on to the next project.

Driving from Bangalore to Mysore City, a distance of 80 miles, the highway parallels a railway construction project. A narrow gauge rail line connects the two cities, running over an old unsatisfactory roadbed which limits train speeds to ten miles per hour. A projected new line will be standard gauge and will permit faster and better service. The project includes some heavy cuts and fills and several large bridges. It is a substantial undertaking.

Highway and railway construction ran close together for many miles, giving the traveler a birds-eye view of the earth fills, bridge work, and trestle construction. Some of the deep earth fills had been in position so long that they were almost as deeply eroded as the surrounding fields. Such erosion is an unavoidable feature of fresh earth fills, but these fills had their sides covered by weeds, grass, and shrubs, showing that the work had extended over months and maybe years. The worst feature of the situation was the absence of recent work. Only here and there was there evidence that the roadbed construction was a going concern.

All over India I have watched public construction projects proceeding in a desultory, casual fashion. In almost every case there was (1) partially completed work with no evidence of

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recent additions; (2) large quantities of material lying about, unused for long periods; (3) workers, individually or in small groups, picking away at the projects with little apparent direction or sense of purpose; (4) corresponding waste and deterioration of materials and labor power; (5) a painful absence of fit tools and machine equipment; (6) trails of litter and physical disorder.

I could not conclude that such procedures were necessarily characteristic features of all construction in India because some privately directed building operations which I watched were carried on with reasonable expedition. Day by day I could see results. On public projects, however, delay-linger-and-wait seemed to be the accepted slogan.

A Comment on Japan

Anyone traveling, as I have done, from India to Japan, is startled by the difference between the two countries. In the spring of 1967 I saw much building construction in Tokyo. The projects were neat and orderly. Work moved rapidly. From my hotel room I could see a tall steel and concrete building in process of erection. The steel structure went up first. Later the concrete, insulation, and other items were added. Steel came to the building site in large prefabricated units, drawn on heavy trucks and hoisted into place by sturdy erecting cranes. Each morning before going out I took a careful look at the structure, noted its height and wondered how far they would be by evening. As a matter of fact, there were days when they put up the steel structure at the rate of a floor each 24 hours.

If this statement sounds exaggerated, one should remember that at war's end in 1945 Japanese cities like Osaka and Tokyo had been reduced to ruins by United States bombing, and that today, only 20 years later, the same cities, almost completely rebuilt, boast literally hundreds of multi-story steel, concrete, and glass buildings that are among the finest to be seen anywhere in the world. Somebody in the interval must have done some tall hustling.

Beside city rebuilding, the Japanese have been busy with railway transportation. Before the war there were local trains

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and fast express trains running between Tokyo and Osaka. After the war these lines were restored. Then another line was added—a super-express line on a new roadbed that provides non-stop train service at 120 miles an hour. The trains, polished and shining, immaculately clean, with roomy seats and large windows, are elaborate twelve-car units with various functions assigned to each car. The trains are perfectly comfortable at high speeds, run frequently, and are filled with satisfied passengers.

Train service in India and Japan are so far apart that they might be on separate planets. In 1947 India won its independence from British rule in a struggle that scarcely interrupted train schedules, while Japan was emerging, defeated, from a desolating war. Had India been flattened by bombs, would their energy and initiative have matched the Japanese? The cultural background of the Indians and climate differ from the Japanese. Presumably speed-up does not interest them. Or do they need a war and a revolution to shake them up?

Who Speaks for India?

Ten years ago when I visited India, Prime Minister Nehru was doing his best to make India a leader and perhaps *the* leader of the emerging ex-colonial or "third" world. He was an enthusiastic believer in the democratic process through which he proposed to lead India into a planet-wide federation of socialist nations. Boldly and emphatically he demanded a place for India in a progressive and progressing world.

When I visited India on my next trip, early in 1967, the country was torn by a bitter controversy over cow-slaughter. Hindus regard "Mother Cow" as sacred. Muslims eat beef. More than 200 million cows wander along the roads and block traffic in India's largest cities. With unemployment rife and poverty all but universal among India's unskilled workers, the cow-slaughter issue occupied the front pages.

One year later I find India once again convulsed. This time the issue is language. There are five hundred million people in India. By what means will they communicate? What language will be used in the schools, in the press, over the radio, in the state legislatures and courts, in parliament? What language will

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postmen and bus conductors employ? Under the British, until 1947, the official or link language of India was English. But India's Constitution names fifteen "important languages of India" and does not mention English. Responsible experts estimate that in the whole of India about one person in fifty can understand and speak English. Bombay's four million people conduct elementary schools in ten different languages; high schools in five languages; colleges in two languages. Workers from three neighboring Indian states, speaking three separate languages, require interpreters when they meet to discuss their problems.

Broadly speaking, Indians accept self-determination in language: hence the fifteen languages mentioned in the Constitution and the conduct of Bombay elementary education in ten languages. However, self-determination does not enable people to communicate; therefore it is generally agreed that there should be a common or link language taught in all schools and, at least in theory, known to all people. But which language? Broadly, in the south of India, English is the choice. In the north, Hindi is the choice. But if English is chosen, the shades of colonialism linger; and if Hindi is chosen, those who use Hindi as a mother tongue will enjoy an advantage in competitive examinations, government employment, and the like.

Sessions of the Indian parliament which adjourned at the year's end reconsidered the language question in great detail. Newspapers headlined it; radios blared it; everybody talked about it. In the south demonstrations were directed against the use of Hindi as the general or link language. In the north they were directed against the use of English. Bands of rioting students in the north directed their campaign against everything English. English papers were destroyed. Signs with English letters were pulled down and burned. The purpose of the campaign was to denounce and discourage the use of English in any form.

In both south and north the wrath of demonstrators was directed against state property. Automobiles were overturned; busses were burned. Railroad trains were held up by the simple device of sitting or lying on the railroad tracks. Once the trains were stopped the passengers were ousted, car cushions ripped

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up, and the trains set on fire. Several railroad stations were burned. When police arrived and charged the rioters with clubs and tear gas, they were met with showers of stones.

India is on the way to being fragmented linguistically as it is already fragmented in so many other respects. Except for a favored few, the rising generation will be segmented into linguistic fragments, speaking, reading, and perhaps writing the mother tongue and therefore confined to communication within the mother tongue region.

One recognized and accepted language would play a major role in consolidating Indian nationhood. The absence of such a common language will almost certainly diminish nationism and increase regionism. Unless foreign aggressors tip the balance by welding Indians into an effective wholeness, the fragmenting forces which are so much in evidence will doubtless reduce the country to a welter of minor competing rival segments.

Even today, in the Indian market place, any voice raised for "India" is dimmed out by ten voices raised for Bengali, Tamil, Urdu, Malayalam, Punjabi, Sindhi, Telegu, Marathi or some other localism. Yesterday it was cow-slaughter. Today it is the bitter language controversy that holds the attention and stirs the emotions of young and old.

Amidst this sound and fury little or nothing is said about the determined drive of private and public United States agencies to peddle the American Way of Life to India and to make that country another pawn of United States policy.

People who have neither commerce or industry are not obliged to make war, but a business people is forced to adopt a policy of conquest. As soon as one of our industries fails to find a market for its products a war is necessary to open new outlets. In Third-Zealand we have killed two-thirds of the inhabitants in order to compel the remainder to buy our umbrellas and suspenders.

—*Anatole France, Penguin Island*

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GREECE: POLITICS AND ARMED STRUGGLE

BY DAN GEORGAKAS

The Death of a Democracy (Greece and the American Conscience), by Stephen Rousseas with the collaboration of Herman Starobin and Gertrud Lenzer. Grove Press, New York, 1967; $6.50.

The first two words in *Death of a Democracy* are Andreas Papandreou; the book is dedicated to Andreas Papandreou; and the preface states the author's personal involvement with the Center Union faction of Andreas Papandreou. Even thus forewarned, the reader is not prepared for the account which follows. As a passionate appeal to the liberal establishment to come to the aid of one of its own, the book is brilliant. As an explanation of what has happened in Greece, *Death of a Democracy* is ludicrous.

The crucial background chapter dealing with "The Postwar Development of U.S. Influence in Greece" is contributed by Herman Starobin. In a pattern which characterizes the entire book, Starobin is so intent on dealing with the mechanics of how various political figures and factions sought favor with the Anglo-American powers that he omits any discussion of the social and economic realities motivating the contending forces. There is no analysis of how the Resistance came into being or why it came under the domination of the Greek Communist Party. The bloody December uprising in Athens during the winter of 1944-1945 is treated in one sentence. The Civil War of 1947-1949 is lost in the maze of intrigues revolving around George Papandreou and the shifting of foreign protector from Great Britain to the United States. The Resistance and the subsequent Civil War are the two most crucial factors in shaping postwar Greece, yet they are presented in a total social and economic vacuum. Likewise, there is

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Dan Georgakas is co-chairman of Democratia, a Greek anti-fascist group. He was a Fulbright Scholar in Greece in the summer of 1963 and has translated some of the work of Mikis Theodorakis, Yannis Ritsos, and other Greek contemporary writers.

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no probing for the motivation behind American involvement. Thus, the subsequent terrorism and corruption which marked the various American-backed reactionary governments is given no historical context. Starobin finds simple anti-Communism a sufficient explanation of American behavior. The aspirations of the Greek people and their bloody struggle for a social revolution are irrelevant to his account. Any hint of why the revolution failed or why the various great powers took their respective attitudes is apparently beyond the scope of his interest.

Rousseas, for his part, focuses on the spectacular emergence in a few short years of Andreas Papandreou as Greece's leading political personality. Andreas has taken *de facto* leadership of the Center Union, secured the grudging support of EDA (United Democratic Left), and was making progress lining up allies in the United States. But the coup of April 21, 1967, did not occur because of the political agility of an ex-professor of economics from Berkeley whose program was somewhat less advanced than FDR's New Deal. In the appendix to *Death of a Democracy*, which takes up more than one third of the book's total length, the position papers of Andreas on various crucial issues are presented. What emerges most clearly is that his views were in accord with long-term American interests in the Mediterranean. His primary concern was to see Greece's status shift from client puppet state to self-respecting loyal ally. Rousseas is an economics professor at New York University, but he never deals with the extent and nature of American economic interests in Greece beyond including a paper in which Papandreou notes that organizations such as Litton Industries have distorted the Greek economy.

Because of his personal friendship with Andreas, Rousseas has access to confidential information regarding American intrigues in Greece. These are presented as facts with specific names, dates, and places. The most revealing aspect of this part of the book is the parochialism of Ambassador Talbot. Rousseas states that Talbot has never had a private conversation with Andreas Papandreou, the leading politician of the majority party in Greece! Andreas was exactly the sort of figure John F. Kennedy would have supported. He was the type of man the Alliance for Progress was tailored to bring into power in Latin America. Rousseas never considers the circumstances which turned the American hardliners against Papandreou in favor of an outright dictatorship.

The main argument of *Death of a Democracy* is that Andreas Papandreou would have co-opted the Left. Rousseas says, in effect,

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that the best way for the United States to retain control in Greece is to back a liberal, but he is so monomaniacal about his hero that he comes to resemble those he professes to criticize, the McGeorge Bundys who constitute "the end of ideology intellectuals who pride themselves on being cold, analytical, and unemotional pragmatists." Thus Rousseas dares discuss the elections of 1963 and 1964 without reference to the most traumatic event of those days—the murder of EDA Deputy Lambrakis by terrorists associated with the Thessaloniki police department. The murder of Lambrakis was popularly attributed to Queen Mother Fredericka who had been handled roughly in London by groups associated with Lambrakis. The murder brought hundreds of thousands into the streets and was directly responsible for the fall of the government of Karamanlis who was personally opposed to the murder and angry that the plot had been hatched without his knowledge. The revelations of the Lambrakis trial created a sensation throughout Greece, but in *Death of a Democracy* the episode is relegated to a footnote. The prosecution's brief in the equally momentous Aspida Case in which Andreas was charged with forming a democratic cabal within the officer corps is reprinted *in toto*. Whatever involves Andreas is given not only a spotlight but the entire stage.

One of the most provocative sections of the book is the long chapter written by Gertrud Lenzer dealing with the "oracular C. L. Sulzberger and the *New York Times* coverage of Greece." Extensive quotes easily establish that Sulzberger reflects the thinking of the traditional Greek Right led by the royal family into whose entourage Sulzberger married. Sulzberger equates Andreas with the Left and regards EDA as mere window dressing for the illegal Greek Communist Party, but he is also upset by the colonels' usurpation of the Right and does not hesitate to expose unsavory aspects of their regime. Lenzer's presentation of key *New York Times* stories reveals that the palace and various American officials knew of the proposed colonels' coup.

Rousseas is just as concerned with shaping public opinion as Sulzberger is, but he is badly handicapped by a sloppy methodology and a personalities approach to history. He has entered the suburbs of power and, like so many American liberals, the atmosphere has made him arrogant. Galbraith calling Johnson at the White House to secure a presidential intervention to save the life of Andreas is heady stuff, while the valor of the men in the concentration camps is not worth a single word. The professor takes pride in disclosing what was said over cocktails and after squash.

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He writes of politics, not history. His book is titled *Death of a Democracy*; but Rousseas knows full well that Greece was never a democracy, that what died was the chance for democracy.

Rousseas's padded appeal on behalf of Andreas Papandreou actually diminishes the political courage and historical importance of the younger Papandreou, who was one of the key elements in the democratic upsurge of the early 1960's. Trade unions were organized in this period under radical leadership. Composers such as Mikis Theodorakis took the bouzouki music of the waterfront and poetry of Marxists such as Yannis Ritsos to create Laikee Musikee, the popular jukebox style that was every bit as subversive to the fascists as they now claim. The Ban-the-Bomb Marches provided the opportunity to publicize many international issues. The Lambrakis Youth Movement grew spectacularly. Many EDA leaders believed that the election of the rabid anti-Communist George Papandreou and his American-oriented son would have one priceless benefit: the establishment of elementary democratic freedoms. They felt that, given such freedom, the Left would soon organize itself as the most powerful force in Greece. Rousseas points out the drop in the EDA vote after the emergence of Andreas, but the support of Papandreou by EDA encouraged that decline. April 21, 1967, vindicated in the clearest possible way those radicals who had argued that the Right would never allow the establishment of democracy. The coup also indicated that the palace, the military, and their American advisors felt that Andreas was a threat in himself and that rather than co-opting the Left, he would only open the doors to its further expansion. To write a book about Greece without dealing with the emergence of a dynamic Left after its best blood was killed, exiled, and imprisoned reveals inexcusable blindness or intellectual expediency.

The few passing references Rousseas does make to the Left treat it as a monolithic entity. Nowhere is there a hint of the debate between advocates of the parliamentary road and those who look to the Cuban example. We learn that Athenian politicians knew months in advance that a coup was in the making. We would like to know what kind of contorted thinking kept the Left from preparing some kind of clandestine organization. Why wasn't a fraction of the public leadership abroad or in hiding? Perhaps Rousseas isn't competent to deal with the Left. Yet he knows the ins and outs of the Center Union back rooms. What was the logic which resulted in the arrest within a few hours of every major political figure in Greece? Theodorakis seems to have been the

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sole exception only because he was already in hiding, being sought by police on a charge of "insulting the throne."

The Greek reactionaries have a long tradition of coups and brutality. Hardliners in foreign policy-making, like H. D. Brewster of the State Department's Greek Desk, want to go as far with the extreme Right as they can. They reason that figures like Karamanlis can be utilized should the militarists falter, and after Karamanlis there are always opportunists like George Papandreou. Personalities such as Andreas need only be used in a last-ditch emergency. Such thinking ignores the polarization dictatorship creates, and it ignores Greece's revolutionary traditions. After all, the Greek Communist Party was the only European CP which attempted to seize power after the Second World War. The Greek folk hero is the guerrilla, the *andarte*, the mountain fighter, whether the mythical Digenes Akritas of Byzantium or the Resistance of the Second World War. Because of Anglo-American intervention, the Nazi collaborators were never punished in Greece, while some partisans have been imprisoned or exiled for nearly two decades. Right-wing terrorism, especially in the countryside, was the rule of the 1950's. Yet the revolutionary core has not been smashed. The suffering has been immense. It is doubly repugnant, then, that even when discussing the new Resistance, Rousseas again places personal politics above accuracy.

Rousseas discusses the threat of the Center Union to arm its new underground section, the Democratic Defense. His appendix contains the April 23rd Manifesto of Mikis Theodorakis, EDA Deputy and public leader of the Lambrakis Youth Movement; but he does not discuss the efforts of Theodorakis and his associates in Athens to implement the manifesto through leafleting, broadcasting, organizing passive resistance, gathering arms, and working to build the clandestine Patriotic Front. The first bulletins issued by the leftist-led Patriotic Front are reproduced, but there is no account of the activities throughout Greece which have led to the arrest of over 200 members of the Front. The Resistance is weak, but the ethic by which Rousseas builds up the potential Center Union groups, while not discussing the perspectives of the already active Patriotic Front, is the kind of honesty which invalidates so much of his sometimes informative book.

The need for the coup shows that the bankruptcy of American foreign policy is beginning to show in Europe, as it shows so painfully in the rest of the world. Rousseas's book is an organic part of the liberal establishment's effort to alter specific Greek

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policy, but it demonstrates how much this establishment has become a tail to the kite of American imperialism. Like Andreas, Rousseas will be criticized severely by the Right wing of his own nation and party. They will be embarrassed and angry that he has revealed so much about American cloak-and-daggerism in Greece, but Rousseas accepts the premise of the kingmakers. Rather than deal with the bloody course of Greek history, with its many heroic moments of mass struggle, he writes program notes to a game of premier's musical chairs in which a few phone calls and some influential persons are thought to shape world events.

The American government is working to find some combination of king and junta that will allow a constitutional façade à la Saigon to mask its suzerainty in Greece. What may prove the most profound consequence of April 21st is that it finally destroys illusions about the attitude the Left must take toward power. The time lost campaigning for Andreas could have been better spent strengthening EDA and preparing for the inevitable coup; for just as in Indonesia, the United States has not hesitated to use the cruelest means to enforce its will. The National Council of the Patriotic Front, meeting late in October, acknowledged the errors of the past and stated that the role of the United States must be exposed and that any who argue otherwise on tactical grounds are not fit to lead the Greek people. The Front declared national independence of a different sort by criticizing the Soviet Union for its "lukewarm reaction" to the reappearance of fascism in Europe. At about the time that Che Guevara was being trapped in Bolivia, the National Council issued a bulletin stating: "The Patriotic Front believes that the Greek people should be prepared for the armed struggle."

Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to, and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue till they have resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they suppress.

—*Frederick Douglass*

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A GOOD START

BY EUGENE V. SCHNEIDER

Who Rules America? by G. William Domhoff. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1967; $4.95.

The publication of William Domhoff's book should be welcomed on several counts. First, it challenges the notions that society is ruled by a "pluralism" of groups, or by the middle class, or by a technical-professional elite. That portion of the academic world which purveys these notions should, in all conscience, meet the arguments and refute, if they can, the evidence Domhoff presents for the existence of a ruling class in the United States. Second, Domhoff's book should serve to reawaken among Marxists and others, to whom the notion of a "ruling class" is customary if not truistic, the urge to clarify the conception of "ruling class," so that it may be used as a tool for analysis of the present as history. For readers of this journal a review which proceeds along these latter lines would seem most useful.

Domhoff's conceptualization of the ruling class is as follows. First, he visualizes an upper class in society, ultimately based on business though not coterminous with it, which is united through intermarriage, kinship, education, group memberships, recreation, and, in general, style of life. Second, he points out certain institutions in society, or positions in society, which are crucial in the sense that those controlling these institutions or manning these positions can control or influence the functioning of society, and the behavior and beliefs of its inhabitants. These institutions include the large corporations, the executive branch of government, the military, the courts, the mass media, the universities, etc. Third, he shows that a disproportionate number of these institutions and positions are controlled or manned by members of the upper class. The bulk of his book is, in fact, concerned with providing evidence for the infiltration of members of the upper class into these institutions and strategic positions. The evidence is impressive. The fourth point is really subsidiary to the third, but

Eugene V. Schneider is a professor of Sociology at Bryn Mawr College.

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takes on special meaning in relation to the work of C. Wright Mills. Domhoff shows that even where strategic institutions and positions are not directly controlled or manned by members of the upper class, there is a power elite in control which has been co-opted by the upper class, strives for entrance into that class, and in general attempts to take on the values and interests of the upper class. Trusted members of the power elite may be transferred to other institutions or positions in society where their services are required. Averell Harriman is a prime example of the aristocrat-in-control, Robert McNamara of the power elite in operation.

The answer to the question that Domhoff poses—"Who Rules America?"—is thus that America is ruled by a business-based aristocracy, firmly entrenched in the key institutions and positions of society. In other words, the upper class is a "governing class" (not a "ruling class," because Domhoff does not wish to introduce preconceptions, even Marxist ones, into his analysis). The specific contribution that Domhoff has made lies not so much in the originality of the thought as in the anchoring of the concept of "ruling class" in empirical evidence.

I shall assume that the existence of a ruling class in the United States has been demonstrated by this, and other, works. The important question then becomes, it seems to me, how this concept can be employed in analysis. In order to address ourselves to this question, I would suggest that it is necessary to extend the framework of analysis that Domhoff has provided. Specifically, four types of problems need to be considered: (1) Why does the ruling class decide upon a particular policy, be it in domestic or foreign affairs, at a given time? (2) How is consensus reached within the ruling class about a given policy, and what are the processes by which a policy is abandoned or modified? (3) How is the ruling class able to initiate and sustain policies which are patently not to the interest of other groups in society, or to society as a whole? (4) What are the limits on the power of the ruling class, or are there any limits? Some brief comments on these points are in order.

Consideration of the first question—why a particular policy is chosen—indicates a need for an historical and social analysis of the ruling class. The ruling class is neither a static entity, existing outside of history, nor is it homogeneous in its makeup. Historically, the robber barons were replaced by financiers who, in turn, have had to share power and influence with large, independent corpora-

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tions. Individual industries have risen and fallen. Some industries have developed into multi-national units in one area or another, while others have developed in relation to the domestic market. Today, as Domhoff points out, the ruling class is by no means homogeneous; it includes not only many varieties of economic interests, but those who have inherited their wealth and those who have accumulated it themselves. It includes men of varying ethnic and religious backgrounds and men with varying ideological commitments.

This means, first, that ruling-class policy in any sphere is constantly in a process of change in accordance with shifts of power and interests within the ruling class itself. It means, second, that at any one time ruling-class policy must be hammered out from amidst a welter of interests, backgrounds, ideologies, and styles of life, all of which may be in conflict with each other. Of course, there are limits to this conflict. No section of the ruling class is in favor of the abolition of the capitalist system or of its own position within it. It seems safe to say that in the last 70 years no significant section of the ruling class has failed to recognize the need for external expansion of some kind, if capitalism is to survive. But within these limits, a policy may be the result of vicious infighting, compromise, alliance, division of spoils. Thus, American foreign policy, though it is eternally expansionist, has varied from relatively peaceful economic penetration to outright intervention and conquest; today this policy reflects both of these polar extremes. And each form of policy has reflected a particular constellation of forces within the ruling class.

The second question—how policy is arrived at, the sociological processes involved—is really *terra incognita*, and for this my own field of sociology must share a large portion of the blame. Sociology has been much more concerned with prostitution, or the internal structure of street-corner gangs, than with the internal structure and functioning of the ruling class. There are many reasons for this, but perhaps the most important is that the ruling class does not encourage studies of itself; and in this matter, as in others, it is in a position to realize its wishes. The best we have is the occasional glimpse provided by a member of the upper class who has wandered into Social Science, or from maverick chroniclers of High Society, or from occasional studies of the family life and sexual habits of the upper classes, or from an occasional perceptive novel of upper-class life. Put together, these yield a vague picture of a closely-knit group of individuals who

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are highly class-conscious, rigorously socialized in certain values and beliefs, interrelated and intermarried, frequenting the same schools and the same resorts. But little is known of the actual lines of influence, the processes of debate, or the formation of a class consensus. In this respect the upper class is the most closed of closed corporations; its deliberations are conducted within the privacy of family groups, resorts and clubs, the top levels of organizations. When a policy is finally put into action, it appears like a seamless garment with the stitching carefully concealed. Only occasionally and then usually long after the event, does a rent appear in the garment through which the needlework can be seen.

The third question concerns the ability of the ruling class to implement its policies in society and in external affairs. This is a most complex question, however simple it may seem at first blush. If we assume, as does Herbert Marcuse, that basic opposition to capitalist society has disappeared, except perhaps among some Negroes, intellectuals, and students, then the task of the ruling class becomes merely a decision-making process. Having made its decisions, the ruling class entrusts to the bureaucracies and the middle levels of power the translation of these decisions into appropriate actions. But if opposition remains in our society, no matter how deeply concealed, then the ruling class must be able to impose its will on society; that is, it must dispose of power.

This is obviously not the place to attempt a definitive answer to the question of whether the American ruling class is a "decision-making" class or a "power" class. The answer may very well be that it is a mixture of both. Undoubtedly, as the academic sociologists would say, large numbers of Americans have "internalized the norms" of capitalist society; that is, they have acquiesced in the materialistic culture, the anti-Communist demonology, the vicious racism. Insofar as this has occurred, the masses have found in the ruling class "representative leaders," whose decisions accord with their own beliefs and psychological needs. Yet the need of the ruling class to use force against dissent, the mendacious and universal propaganda, the tight control of churches, schools, and universities suggest that there is still something that needs repressing; that, as Barrows Dunham has said, thinking may still break out. Nor is it at all clear that the "internalization of norms" of capitalist society abolishes opposition and alienation. Rather it is possible that the process of repression becomes transformed from an external to an internal process; that it becomes a process of self-repression. And it is a self-repression

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which is carefully created and maintained by every institution of capitalist society—the family, the schools, the universities, the mass media, the churches. If this argument is valid, then it would seem that the American ruling class is, after all, a "power" class through and through, imposing its interests and values on a mass whose deepest needs are directly opposed to its own.

Finally, are there not any limits to the power of the ruling class? There are those who would say no. C. Wright Mills stated that at this time in history, the power of the rulers is virtually without limit; and Herbert Marcuse's arguments lead to the same conclusion. Yet American history offers some examples of checks to the ruling class. Government, universities, churches, even the mass media have, on occasion, adopted policies which have not been welcomed by members of the ruling class. As Baran and Sweezy have shown, antitrust legislation has been effective in changing certain features of business structure; and taxes on the ruling class, if not exactly confiscatory, have hardly been welcomed. The labor movement of the 1930's succeeded against bitter ruling-class opposition, and with at least some benevolence from the government.

The truth of the matter seems to be that the ruling class is not exempt from that law which states that men can not make history just as they choose. For one thing, a capitalist ruling class must create a capitalist society, and it must, to some degree, operate within the framework of that society. By a capitalist society we must understand the entire system of institutions, values, legitimations, laws, motivations, which guarantee the operation of a society in a capitalistic manner. As an example, for a society to be capitalist, there must be explicit legal recognition of the right of individuals or groups to hold private property, to use this property to create capital, and to reinvest capital without limit. It is for this reason that no particular section of the ruling class can prevent the rise of new capitalists, for to do so would threaten the very capitalist system which the ruling class has created. Similar consideration for the integrity of the system dictates that some opposition to the system be tolerated, as long as this opposition does not actually threaten the system. Thus in the final analysis the ruling class even put up with the rise of a militant trade union movement, and proceeded to absorb this movement within the general framework of society. Some sections of the ruling class are now seeking to extend this procedure to the Negroes.

There is another sense in which the ruling class is limited by

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the capitalist system. The system as a whole generates needs which may not coincide with the needs of every section of the ruling class, or, for short periods of time, with the needs of the ruling class as a whole. This seems a paradoxical statement, but perhaps it will seem less so if we consider two examples. The New Deal rose out of the desperate plight of the capitalist system during the depression; its aim was to preserve this system through internal reform (and external expansion) and it proceeded to put its program into effect against the opposition of large sections of the ruling class. The second example is provided by the policy of external expansion itself. This policy has been a steady feature of each administration since at least the 1880's, and its necessity springs from certain, by now often analyzed, features of the capitalist economy, which makes external expansion absolutely essential to its preservation; but this does not mean that every section of the ruling class has welcomed each development in American foreign policy, or that some sections of the ruling class have not suffered from particular policies.

Thus even though a revolutionary working class does not exist in this society, the actions of the ruling class are not without constraints. Indeed, the manner in which internal opposition has been overcome—that is, by imperialist expansion—has produced a series of external forms of opposition. Within these limits, the ruling class undoubtedly does have freedom of action. It may induce what technological changes it will, waste as much as it pleases, engage in a variety of imperialistic adventures—always provided that the integrity of the capitalist system and the fulfillment of its needs are not jeopardized. Conversely, one can be sure that a program will be abandoned if it threatens the system in either of the two ways described above.

From what has been said here, it is evident that the concept of the "ruling class" is far from a refined tool of analysis. To state that every thing that happens in American society, internally and externally, stems from the wishes of the ruling class is *perhaps* true, but not very helpful. What is needed is precise knowledge of configurations of alliance and conflict within the ruling class, of the way decisions are reached, of the way decisions are put into effect, of the limits of the power of the ruling class. The contribution of Domhoff has been to provide an empirical grounding for the beginning of such an analysis.

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Announcement—
Increase in Sub Rates

Because of the rise in the cost of postage, paper, labor, and printing, an increase in the newsstand and subscription rate has become necessary, beginning on May 1, 1968. You can avoid the increase by subscribing for as many years as you like, now, before the new rate goes into effect. No matter when your present sub expires, you can renew at the old rate IF YOU ACT BEFORE MAY 1.

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(*continued from inside front cover*)

of expansion, and it looks as though we should be doing an increasing two-way business with our Mexican opposite numbers in the foreseeable future. The publishers with whom we have established particularly good working relations are Siglo XXI, Ediciones Era, and the newly formed house of Nuestro Tiempo.

From time to time we have to remind readers that MR does not have a rigid political or editorial "line" to which all material appearing in the magazine must hew. MR is of course a socialist periodical, and that fact, broadly speaking, defines the political nature of its contents. And we express our own by no means fixed and unchanging positions in the Review of the Month. For the rest, however, we try to select material for inclusion in the magazine not because we necessarily agree with all of it but because we think it will be useful, informative, educational for the kind of people who read MR, who we assume to be for the most part people who think for themselves, are not afraid of controversy, and actually enjoy making their own critical evaluations. What prompted this reminder is the publication in this issue of Michael Dawn's piece "Toward an International Strategy." We believe that Michael Dawn's basic analysis is both sound and important, but we do not agree with all his conclusions. He seems to be saying that because imperialism is quintessentially an international system, those who live in the imperialist metropolis can combat it primarily through action which is directed at weakening the metropolis' ability to oppress and exploit its subordinate empire. Without in the least depreciating action of this kind, we think it is even more important that revolutionaries living in the metropolis should devote themselves to making more revolutionaries there with an eye to the eventual building of a mass revolutionary movement in the very heart of the imperialist monster. But this disagreement with Michael Dawn does not mean that we think his case should be denied a hearing. This is only an example of something which has happened many times in the past and doubtless will happen many times in the future. Save in exceptional cases, we leave it to MR readers to make their own evaluations and come to their own conclusions without any help or hindrance from us.

Next month's issue will be largely devoted to critical assessments of the theories put forward in Régis Debray's *Revolution in the Revolution?* which we published as last summer's special double issue. Among the contributors will be Clea Silva, a Brazilian sociologist; William Pomeroy, who fought with the Huks and spent ten years in a Philippine prison; Donald McKelvey, a staff member of SDS's Radical Education Project; Eqbal Ahmed, a Pakistani with first-hand experience of the Algerian war of liberation; and the editors of MR.

From time to time we receive a bequest from a reader who felt, in his lifetime, that financial support would help make possible the continuance of MR as a completely independent magazine. Any reader who may be moved to follow this example should be careful to state exactly, in his will, that the bequest is to: "Monthly Review, Inc., of 116 West 14th Street, New York, N. Y. 10011."

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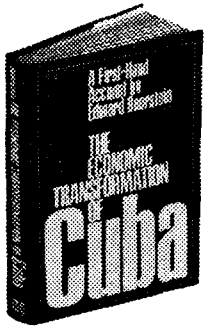
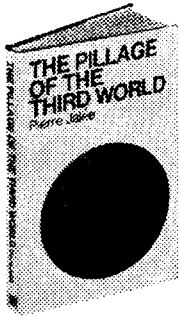


An American economist who worked for 3½ years in top planning agencies of the Cuban government has written a remarkable account of the problems, successes, and failures he witnessed. It is non-technical, dramatic, and nothing like it exists in the entire literature on economic planning. Boorstein's book provides a new fund of information about the Cuban revolution, and is perhaps the first to make the problems of socialist planning clear—even fascinating—to the layman.

Price on publication [illegible]	$7.95	60s.
Prepublication price	$5.00	50s.
Associates price	$4.00	33s.

Paul Nizan is widely read and influential among modern French youth. In his introduction to *Aden, Arabie,* first of Nizan's books in English, Sartre says: "Who will speak to these 'angry young men'? Who can shed light on their violence? Nizan is their man." And Henri Peyre writes: "*Aden, Arabie* will hold a lasting place among the books of meditative travel written in our age. It is written in a beautifully terse and gravely elegant prose, and its author's untimely death in World War II deprived France of one who might well have been the equal of Camus."

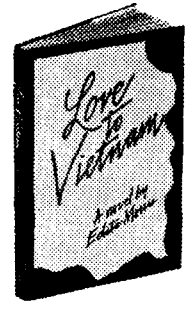
Price on publication May 7:	$6.00	50s.
Prepublication price:	$4.50	37s.
Associates price:	$3.00	25s.



Despite the ending of old colonial regimes, the Third World continues to be exploited. Imperialism, in M. Jalée's view, is a deeply traced pattern of economic relations which require a social revolution to alter them. Written by a French economist and based upon an exhaustive study of recent data, *Pillage of the Third World* has been hailed as serious and impressive in France. "Painstakingly buttressed with United Nations statistics . . . a gold mine for students and specialists."—*The Kirkus Service.*

Price on publication April 2:	$8.00	66s.
Prepublication price	$4.50	37s.
Associates price:	$3.00	25s.

Something new in emotional fiction: Edita Morris has written of the love between a young man burned in childhood by the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki and a girl napalm-burned in Vietnam. We meet here people whom Americans must know if they are not to sink into moral insensitivity. "Moving," says *Publishers' Weekly,* "sure to find an audience and admirers." Already published in several European countries, *Love to Vietnam* is by the author of *The Flowers of Hiroshima,* which sold over two million copies in 24 languages.



Price on publication April 30:	$5.00	42s.
Prepublication price:	$3.75	31s.
Associates price:	$2.50	20s.

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